129 I am using the concept "medicine" in the sense used by the Pangwe /Ed., the author uses Pangwe [Fang] as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele [Mvele], Jaunde [Yaunde], Bene [Bane], Bulu, Ntum, Mwai [Mvae], and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/, who have a much broader conception of it than we do and unite under the term biǎ,ń, "medicine," various things which we are accustomed to separate, namely, charms, means for bringing luck and avoiding misfortune, remedies for cult sicknesses, and healing remedies in our sense of the term. In addition, I shall include the food taboos (eki,).

759 The knowledge of medicines is fairly widespread among the Pangwe. Each Pangwe man -- and /144/ even each Pangwe woman -- is familiar with half a dozen or at least a few. However, only a person who is an extraordinarily good observer, who does not stay at home as does the average Pangwe, and who has gained experience and knowledge is designated as a medicine man, ngĕ́ńgắ'ń I. As was observed in an earlier section /Ed., Vol. I, Section 8/, extreme specialization of all knowledge and skills is found among the Pangwe. This is no less the case with medicines. One man may be familiar with cult medicines, another with ewu medicines; others specialize in the opening of corpses for the detection of ewu, still others specialize in skin diseases, etc. Within these areas specialization goes still farther. Individual medicine men may be specialists for a particular disease (e.g., leprosy) or for a particular method of treating this disease. Such a specialist is called ongĕ́ńgắ'ń. He is frequently sought from a great distance by patients who do not have a specialist for their case or one of sufficient repute in their own villages.

424 759 461 Medical knowledge is not guarded as a legacy in certain families, but is the property of individuals and is imparted to others by the expert in return for cash payment. This is a business deal of such great importance that a father seldom or never instructs his own son in medical knowledge, as he could not accept much payment from him -- particularly since it is in a sense a matter of his own money -- and he would not do it for nothing

424 because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the
759 intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply
461 not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of
payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers,
[435] to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return
for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures
that he knows.

759 The medicine men do not have any special social status,
554 authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as
754 experienced and skillful persons (akǒn, i.e., "skillful"). Only
those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give
this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by
means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to
practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects
that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery,
i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

754 We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/
[753] that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need
to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly
malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symp-
toms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/
and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible.
At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear
picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to
get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison
with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what
extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in
our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of
these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal
illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the
physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength
in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Sec-
tion 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [825] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana [824] (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfū,ī'di, from a pfūde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkǔ,bǎn I; verb, a kǔ,bǎn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

[184] Among the Jaunde the a pfū,ī'di is unknown because the cults [759] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

759 The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

759 serious illness, an advance payment is not customary; only now and then the medicine man receives a small present, especially since he knows an almost inexhaustible number of remedies. If every remedy is of no avail or should the sick man die, the medicine man will not demand a fee simply from a sense of tact and compassion -- "so that the hearts of the relatives will not be afflicted even more." On the other hand, if there is an improvement, he receives five spears if he lives in the same village and ten spears if he has been called in from outside.

I have nothing to report concerning any ceremonies held during the cure.

Leprosy (zǎ́m), Figure 63

757 278 The spots of leprosy -- which appear yellow on the black skin of the natives -- are rubbed with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō′ Fang) or the stalks of the Manniophyton africanum Muell. Arg. (angū́s Ntum) until /172/ /Fig. 63 appears here in the original text/ blood appears. The following medicines are then dried and ground: Microglossa afzelii O. Hoffmann (ojǎ́ń e ndžǐk); plantain peel (oyǐna ekǭn); and Diospyros ampullacea Gürke (efífí'di), leaves or bark. These are rubbed on the body with resin of Xylopia aethiopica A. Rich. (ojǎ́n) and oil from the seeds of Mimusops djave (mbǫ̌n adžǎ́b). When the cure begins, a tree fungus is added. A second medicine is the following. After the same preparatory treatment, a tree fungus and bark from Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makṓō III) and from an undetermined Rubiacea (oyǒ′) are burned together to an ash and rubbed on the body with shea butter oil or raffia palm oil or oil from Carapa procera D.C. (ehgǎ́n). A third recipe recommends leaves of Microglossa afzelii and Phaulopsis longifolius Smis. (osū́tū-elǭk III) to be placed on the leprous spots. The leaves of the last-named plant are also taken as a preventive after being ground and boiled in the food with an egg (bundle form). In some regions the spots are burned out with a glowing iron, and then the ground leaves of the Apocynacea Psychotria coffeosperma K. Sch. (otsímažǫ́e′ III), together with oil, are put on the spots; or the burned spots are washed with a hot extract of the bark of Eurypetalum tessmannii

789 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /creation/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine.
791 Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

● 759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable
762 base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent